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they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver):

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kan. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a

* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value.

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the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as being told,

> Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."[18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

> During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae[20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

> Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

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[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering this country will be taken care of.

3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.[28]

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

[28] In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.[16]

Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).
[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 152.
[18] *Ibid.*, 142.
[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae). November, 1720.
[20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa.*
[21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM.*

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading[28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

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[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arakama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

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system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwa.*

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600 dried mushrooms
Todo Skin [Eumetopias Jubata, Stellar sea lion]—one piece.
3 seal skins
Elm bark cloth, 3 pieces
6 bamboo blinds
3 rush mats

For one bbl. of fish oil, containing 2 shō—3 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
For one bear liver—14–20 sacks of rice.
For one outfit of brocade clothes from the Ezo of Santan—9–24 sacks of rice.
For each 5 feet of Ezo brocade cloth—6 sacks of rice.
For eagle feathers—3–30 sacks of rice.
For one Karafuto pipe—⅗ cups of sake to one small bbl. containing 4 shō.

Rates of exchange for goods from the mainland were as follows:

For one sack of rice containing 8 shō:

1 small bbl. sake—4 shō
3 bundles of tobacco
1 large knife
6 small knives
6 bowls
3 pipes
1 sack of yeast containing 7 shō
1 set of Kamokamo (nest of bowls, 1 large, 1 small)
6 flints
72 needles
72 spools of cotton thread
3 *namako Hikikane* [tools for catching sea slugs]
1 set of old clothes for 5–10 sacks of rice each containing 8 shō.
1 tan of cotton cloth for 3 sacks of rice.
Hokai [lacquer ware container used by high officials] for 2–5 sacks of rice.

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The standard of value was rice and the value of everything was set in terms of rice prior to barter. In 1688 when the vessel Kaifu Maru came from Mito to Ishikari the prevailing exchange was recorded as 1 to 2 shō of rice for each 700 fresh salmon. According to statements left by Matsumae Sazen, principal retainer of the clan and others, by 1790, the sack of rice was reduced to 8 shō while the quality also became less and at the same time the quantity of salmon to be exchanged per sack of rice remained at 5 bundles or 100 salmon;[53] 8 shō became the standard contents of the sack of trade rice. It is reported that one of the reasons for the trouble in Menashi and Kunashiri was the reduction of the rice sack to a mere 3 shō occasioned by the famine of the 1780's.[54] However, in general, the standard measure was the "kobyō" [small sack] containing 8

[53] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 1263.
[54] *Ezo Dan* [Ezo Tales] (The story of the farmer Sanemon of Esashi village in Matsumae).

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shō of Musaban rice.[59] Trade was not necessarily carried on in accordance with these standards. According to *Igen Zokuwa* 4½ kan of tangle was worth more than 6 gō of unpolished rice valued at 5 to 60 mon per shō, yet in a diary of an official present at the trading in 1798 in Sōya, "The Ezo in exchange for 2 bundles of tangle received a large bowl of cold rice. The same case is seen in trading salmon, codfish or herring. It is a most inconvenient trade. It is said that this custom is followed in all parts of Ezo."[60] Also, one shō of sake worth 200 mon according to *Igen Zokuwa* is said by the diary to have been worth one kan 600 mon.

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Fraudulent means were used in the trade to alter both the quality and quantity of mainland goods. Sake was, next to rice, the most important trade staple and we read in the *Tōyuki:* "Sake was put in 2 shō barrels with false bottoms and then taken over to trade." "Sake was generally the crudest type. That from Japan was thinned with water but they thought it of very good quality." From the *Ezo Koku Shiki:* "Sake was brewed in Ōyama in Akita and although said to be in barrels containing 2 tō actually they contained only 1 tō, 4 shō. The sake was raw and red in color. To this water was added." The Ezo were thus cheated both in quantity and quality. The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an anecdote about an interpreter of the Shiranuka *Basho* who once sold a traveling chest with gold metal fittings and gold paper lining to an Ezo chief. The chief tried to use the chest to make sake but, when the gold paper peeled off, he became outraged and was convinced that he had been cheated. He was not calmed until the nature of the chest had been explained to him.[61] There is another anecdote about the origin of *Kuwasaki* which the Ezo valued. "In early days merchants taught the Ezo that the hoe-shaped ornament on a Japanese helmet was a valuable treasure and sold them to the Ezo at high prices. This object was given the name *Kuwasaki*. They varied in shape but generally bore resemblance to a hoe. They were made of wood and covered with silver paint." As can be seen there was considerable chicanery. In Sōya a bundle of herring consisted of 10 strings with 20 fish to a string or a total of 200 while in Matsumae a bundle was 14 strings of 13 fish or 182 herring. While one sack of rice containing 8 shō was traded for 500 sea cucumbers yet, when the amount was less than 500, then the rate dropped to 5 hai of rice per 100 sea cucumbers thus resulting in a difference of 1 shō, 7 gō, five shaku per 500. The author of the *Igen Zokuwa* says, "Retail business resulted in a loss for the Ezo and a profit for the trading post. In the case of dried sea slugs the difference between units of 450 and 500 made for a big difference in price. Although some Ezo are aware of this, there are many who do not know the difference."

[59] *Ezo Koku Shiki.*
[60] Mutō Kanzo, *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo diary].
[61] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 6 (2): 31.

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in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG:* "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and,

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakinuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

[8] *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 30.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

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since there were no exact standards for measuring values or setting exchange rates, the settlement of accounts was involved and clever contractors took advantage of this to cheat. The result was a growing native discontent. Toward the end of the Matsumae period rice was used as a basic measure of value but rice as a medium of currency had many drawbacks. Dishonest merchants lowered the quality or cheated in the weight and, since rice was used to express the value of commodities and was not itself used as a medium of exchange, the settlement of accounts remained extremely complicated. When the trade was extensive, this situation not only gave ample opportunities for dishonesty to the traders but it was a cause of misunderstanding which inflamed Ezo suspicions, even if a transaction had been carried out properly. Unfair practices could be checked by official supervision but this policy could only result in an increasing number of officials and even then it would be impossible to oversee every moment of a transaction. It was then, if the trade were to be remedied, needful to abandon the barter system so as to leave no room for dishonesty, to simplify accounts, and set standards of exchange by circulating money. The barter system had other flaws as well: (*a*) Rice was used as a value measurement but only when the value amounted to eight shō or more. When the value involved was less than eight shō goods cheaper than rice were given to the Ezo. For example, the cheapest needles were held at thirty-two to the sack of rice, which was equivalent to saying that a needle was worth two gō five shaku and, since this was the lowest value established, women and children who had only meagre amounts to trade received nothing in return but a cup of sake or a bowl of rice. (*b*) In the barter system the Ezo were forced to buy large amounts of goods at a time even if they did not need them. The main things they got in return were sake, rice, and tobacco, although some clothes and tools were traded. Since the Ezo had little comprehension of saving and used or squandered all their goods at once, in the belief that kept goods decreased in value, they were always poverty stricken. (*c*) Since the trade had been meant to bring relief to the Ezo, goods were distributed over as wide an area as possible. But this involved a great deal of labor as well as expense in transportation, and neither side profited, thus making it difficult to expand the scope of the trade. So the disadvantages of rice as a measure of value lay in the difficulty with which it was divided, stored, and transported. These faults were pointed out to the Bakufu in the written report of the Commissioners who recommended the use of iron coins. The suggestion was accepted and in 1799 the government sent 10,000 iron kan to Ezo for circulation.

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It was intended that these coins would not only be used in trade but as wages and that their use would eliminate the historic fraud and cheating of the trade. The coins were iron because of the mercantilist views of the Bakufu which was afraid of sending precious

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metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Ezojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.[11]

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,[12] they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.[13] In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.[14] These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

A [438]

A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

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B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.[15]

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[11] Ezochi ni tessen tsūyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fūzoku Izan* 2 (3).

[12] This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Hassabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

[13] "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 5: 560.

[14] "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chokyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyuroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chokyaku* count, 100 mon equaled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

[15] "Ezochi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zonjiyorisho oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

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So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.[16]

The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.[17] The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.[18] Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.[19]

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C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

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As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

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Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō* (Documentary history of Hokkaido) 1: 130.

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[16] "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryō equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryō. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (8).

[17] "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818–1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshō Tadashi, Ezochi zenni tsuyō tetsusen ittate kata ukagai [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins]. *Dai Nihon Komonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

[18] Koekishin nedan no koto (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

[19] "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shūhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

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of the order establishing it with no alterations allowed. In the *Ezochi Torishirabe Narabini Kaikoku no gi Aifukume Torihakarai kata Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke* (Suggestions on the Development and Regulation of Ezo) submitted by the Commissioners to the Council we find: "A rate of exchange is needed . . . this rate to be fixed by law." *The Abuta Basho Daigaisho* (General Survey of the Abuta *Basho*), written in 1809, says:

> All goods, either Ezo or mainland, shall be bought in money. The mainlanders will have 20 per cent of all sea products deducted as tax. On the remainder 20 per cent will be deducted for marine charges and, in addition, there will be freight costs. If any fishing equipment or other necessities have been purchased these must be paid for before any money is turned over. But if the fishing has been poor and debts for purchases cannot be met they may be paid the following year. As for the Ezo, their products shall be bought according to a fixed price for each good.

And from the *Hokusui Taimon*:

> Prices seem to vary in the different *Basho*, and they are fixed in each *Basho* according to the same rate that had been used there last year. This price cannot be changed by individuals and the rate for government trade applies as well to the private trade. The price differs slightly according to the *Basho* but it was set by the government and cannot be tampered with.

In looking over the rates we find that fixed prices were not necessarily to the advantage of the Ezo. In fact one could well complain that Ezo goods were undervalued and Japanese goods overvalued.[39] This was because the official rates were set at the rates prevailing when the government took over—which happened to be rates profitable to the contractors—and the government rates were, from time to time, modified so as to

[39] In 1800 Mogami Tokunai reported in his Ezochi no gi ni tsuki zōnji yori sōraiaba enryōnaka moshiagu beki yo ōsē kikasare sōrō (Opinions on Ezo transmitted to the Bakufu in accord with instructions that such be done without delay) that "Trade in Ezo has, since the past, been conducted on a fixed exchange rate. For example one sack of rice containing 8 shō is exchanged for approximately 120 salmon. At nearby *Basho* the rate may drop to 100 and if the fishermen are secretive [about the catch] the rate may drop to 60, 50, or even 40 salmon. And yet even at this low rate the contractors have their profit. The Ezo are well aware of this fact and are therefore discontented for they believe that the contractors, who must pay taxes, buy Ezo goods at the very lowest prices. Furthermore, the contractors must assume the risk of stranded vessels and they take into account such contemplated losses when establishing prices for Ezo goods. The Ezo then contend that the contractors make their living wholly at the expense of the Ezo and they are not at all satisfied with this situation. Even in a future trade conducted by the Bakufu this belief will persist and eventually the Ezo will maintain that Bakufu officials make their living by purchasing Ezo goods at low prices—all to no good effect on their loyalty." Mogami then states that trade should be left to each individual to conduct as he chooses. His reasoning is too far fetched and his claims for free trade are not acceptable but his report does reveal the unreasonable exchange rate being imposed at that time on the Ezo.

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

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[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jûichinen shônin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sôrô kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dôchiû Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chôkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kôeki kakaku wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshô* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

Dried Salmon

A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.
B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)

Dried Mushrooms

50 for one cup of sake.
50 for one cup refined sake.
15 for one cup unrefined sake.
(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shô of rice.
B. 56 for one shô of rice.
(One shô of rice equal 56 mon: One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)